

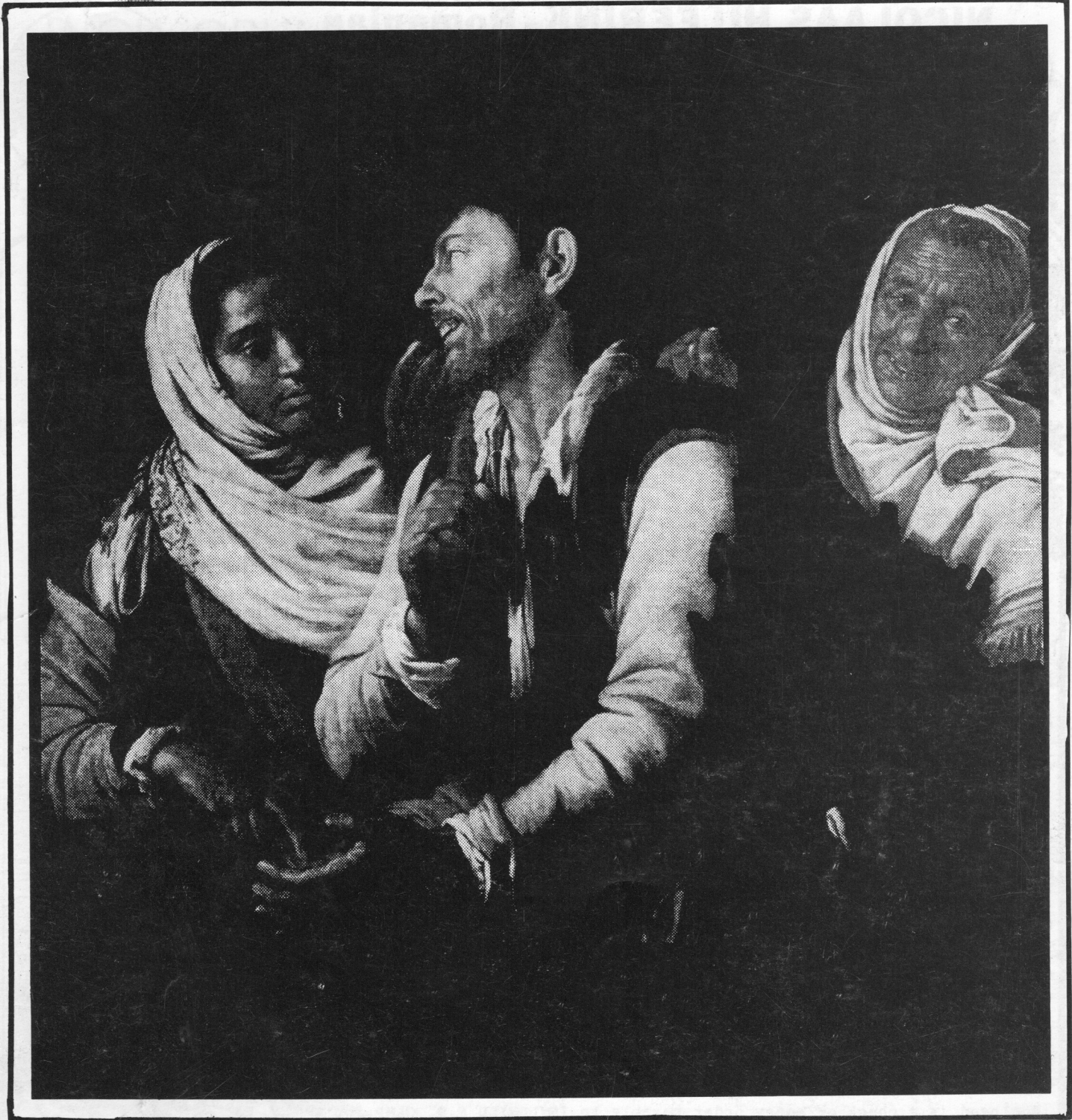
GYPSY



Folk Dance Scene

FEBRUARY 1987

VOLUME 21 NUMBER 10





IDYLLWILD Folk Dance Camp

Week: June 19-26

Weekend: June 19-21

NICOLAAS HILFERINK - Romanian

BORA ÖZKÖK - Turkish

TIBOR TOGHIA - Hungarian

DICK OAKES - Reteach, Balkan



Free-Time Options

For your added enjoyment, this year's camp features options scheduled during free-time periods. They include Square Dance Basics, Clogging, Learning the Words and Singing to Dances We Do, a Nature Walk, Strigaturi (Romanian shouts), a Costume Clinic, Swimming, Shopping, and Sleeping.

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 Campsite (Tuition only, no meals)....\$150 _____

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WEEKEND: (Per Person)
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 Campsite (Tuition only, no meals)....\$ 95 _____

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MEALS: (Check One) _____ Regular _____ Vegetarian

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 AGE RANGE: 16-25 _____ 25-40 _____ 40+ _____
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NOTE: Meals may be arranged for Off-Campus or for Campsite attendees at an additional fee. Please call for details.

A \$50 deposit will hold a reservation for ONE PERSON. Deposits may only be refunded if notification of cancellation is RECEIVED by Fran Slater NO LATER than May 18, 1986.

Enclosed is a check or money order payable to IDYLLWILD F.D. CAMP for \$ _____.



FEBRUARY 1987
VOLUME 21 NUMBER 10

Folk Dance Scene

EDITORS

Marvin Smith
Teri Hoffman
The Stone Flower
Jim Fogle
Fay Wouk
Robert Moriarity
Ed Feldman
Fran Slater

PRODUCTION
CIRCULATION
FOOD EDITOR
BUSINESS MANAGER
ASSEMBLING
TROUBLE SHOOTER

EDITORIAL OFFICE:

Marvin Smith
229 Catalina Ave no.3
Los Angeles, Calif. 90004
(213)385-7944

BUSINESS / CIRCULATION OFFICE:

22210 Miston Drive
Woodland Hills, CA 91364

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The Folk Dance Federation of California, South, is a non-profit, tax-exempt educational organization incorporated under the laws of California. The Federation is dedicated to the promotion of and education about all international folk dancing and its related customs. Membership is open to all races and creeds, and neither the Federation nor the FOLK DANCE SCENE shall be used as a platform for prejudicial matter. All proceeds from this publication are used to pay the costs of its publication and distribution.

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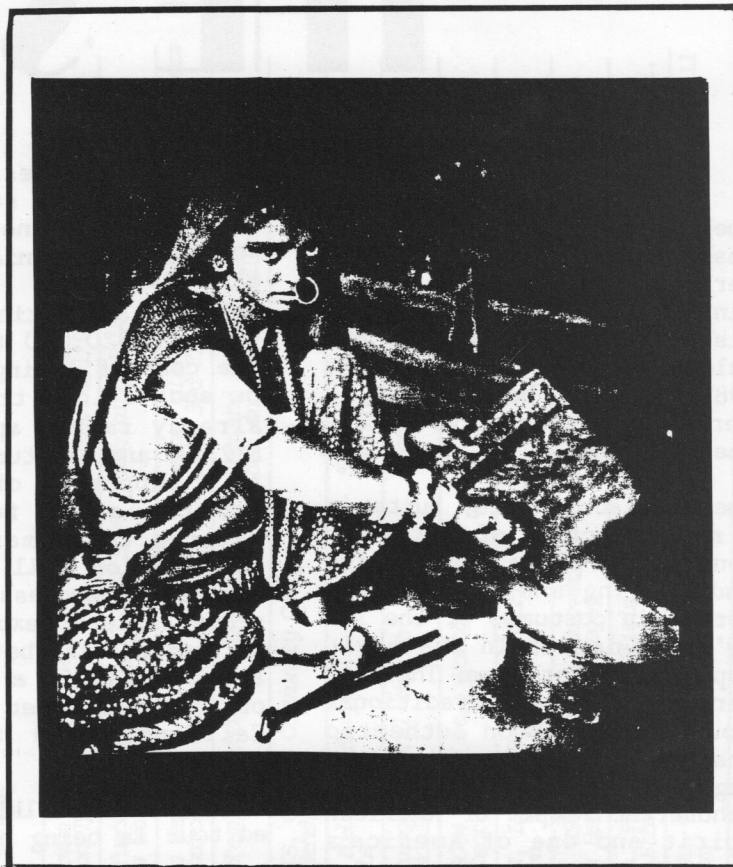
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Our thanks to Sunni Bloland, Sheila Salo of the Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter, and Carol Silverman for helping us with this issue.

THE SCENE

NEWS ABOUT DUNAJ

The Dunaj International Dance Ensemble has been invited to perform its Appalachian Mountain Clog Suite at folk festivals in Zagreb, Yugoslavia and Kalocsa, Hungary during July, 1987. They will be the only American representative at either festival.

The Appalachian Clog Suite is a reconstruction of a traditional house party with dancing and singing and games, performed in costumes of the 19-20's and danced in the style popular at that time. Their 6-person band plays traditional mountain music on authentic instruments and the suite is a high-spirited, fun-filled and exuberant sample of American spirit and one of America's

true folk dances. Dunaj has performed this suite before audiences in northern and southern California for several years.

Dunaj is attempting to raise a fund of \$20,000 to help pay the cost of taking the troupe on such a long trip. They've already raised approximately \$12,000 and are turning to you as a supporter of the dance and the arts, for help in raising the remainder. Your contribution will do much to ensure the success of this unique cultural exchange, and, of course, will be tax-deductible; DUNAJ is a non-profit organization under the laws of California and the United States.

A sixteen-day folklore-oriented tour is being organized in

conjunction with DUNAJ's visit. There will be space for about fifteen persons to accompany the company and the cost will be about \$1,800, including round-trip air fare, accommodations, meals, excursions, transportation and guide services. The tour will visit Zagreb and the Smotra Folklore Festival, Lake Bled, Budapest, Kalocsa and the Kalocsa Folk Festival, Debrecen, and the Hortobagy National Park. Emphasis will be on visits to folklore and folk art centers, folk dance performances and workshops, folk festivals, ethnographic museums and other interesting sites with plenty of free time scheduled for shopping or sightseeing on your own. Departure will be July 5, 1987. please contact

DUNAJ, PO Box 3352,
Huntington Beach, CA 92605

THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY North American Chapter

Founded in 1977, the Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter, is an interdisciplinary organization of people interested in Gypsy studies. Its members' interests include folklore, dance music, anthropology, sociology, history, linguistics, literature and art. It aims to improve communications among those interested in the field, and to help increase awareness of materials available on the cultures of Gypsies and analogous groups.

The Chapter publishes a quarterly Newsletter, now beginning its tenth year. The Newsletter features reviews of books and audio-visual materials, brief articles and bibliography, as well as news of conferences, research and other activities. The Chapter also publishes an annual membership directory which lists members' interests and contributions to the field. The Chapter also publishes selected papers from its confer-

ences. Three volumes have appeared, of which Volume II and III are still in print.

The Victor Weybright Archives of Gypsy Studies, the Chapters library in New York City, is open to all researchers by prior appointment.

The next Annual Meeting and Conference on Gypsy Studies will be held March 26-29, 1987 at UCLA in Los Angeles. The program promises to be entertaining, informative and varied and will include formal presentation of research papers, films, slides, photos, displays and live performances. For further information on any aspect of the meeting, contact Lyn Smith, 1433 Greenfield Ave., West L.A., CA 90025 (phone 213-473-6109), or Jim Nemeth, Department of Geography, Central Michigan University, Mt. Pleasant, MI 48858 (phone 517-774-3723). The 1988 meeting is planned for New York City, and will include a 10th anniversary celebration for the Chapter as well as a 100th anniversary

celebration for its parent body, the Gypsy Lore Society in Great Britain.

Chapter membership is open to all with an interest in Gypsy Studies. Membership dues, including Newsletter subscription and discounts on publications, is \$15 per year. For further information about the Chapter and its activities, contact Sheila Salo, Treasurer, 2104 Dexter Ave. #203, Silver Spring, MD 20902.

ARIZONA '87 FOLK DANCE FESTIVAL

The Arizona '87 Folkdance Festival will be held in Tucson on March 13-15 and will feature Yves Moreau teaching Balkan dances. The festival also will include separate dance instruction for beginners and for advanced dancers, together with dance parties, after-parties and a Sunday picnic-barbeque-dance.

write Nancy or Blaine Menth at 4155 East River Road, Tucson, Arizona, 85718, phone (602) 299-9609.

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7:30 - 11:00 PM DANCE INSTITUTE # 4.00
11:00 - ? AM FRIDAY AFTERPARTY # 3.00

SATURDAY the 7th

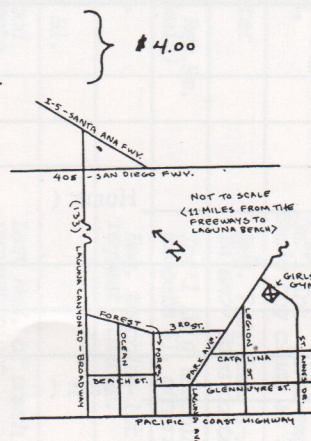
9:30 - 11:30 AM ADVANCE WORKSHOP # 4.00
1:30 - 5:30 PM DANCE INSTITUTE # 5.00
7:30 - 11:00 PM VALENTINE # 4.00
FEDERATION PARTY # 3.00
11:00 - ? AM AFTERPARTY # 3.00

SUNDAY the 8th

12:00 - 1:30 PM KOLO HOUR } # 4.00
1:30 - 5:30 PM EXHIBITIONS AND
DANCE FESTIVAL }

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LAGUNA BEACH, CA.

SEE OVER FOR
ADDITIONAL INFORMATION



SAN DIEGO STATE UNIV FOLK DANCE CONFERENCE

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AUGUST 9, 1987
to
Saturday AM
AUGUST 15, 1987

1987 STAFF:

JERRY HELT	SQUARE DANCE
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PHONE: Day: () _____ Home: () _____

ROOMMATE: _____

--NO--	-----OPTION----	--COST--
_____	DOUBLE ROOM	To
_____	SINGLE ROOM *	Be
_____	TUITION ONLY	Deter-
_____	SYLLABUS	mined
	* If Available	

To aid room assignment
please answer the following:

_____ QUIET WING
_____ NON-SMOKER _____ SMOKER
Age Group:
_____ 16-25 _____ 25-40 _____ 40+

Enclosed is check/money order payable to S.D.F.D. Conference in the amount of \$ _____. A \$50 deposit will hold a reservation for ONE PERSON. Deposit will be refunded if cancellation notification is given prior to July 25, 1987.

Calendar

<u>CALIFORNIA</u>	
<u>FEBRUARY</u>	
2/1	10th Ann.IDA Folk Fair,Balboa Pk. Club Bldg, San Diego, 12-5pm
2/6-8	Laguna F.D.Fest.Wknd & SDFD Conf. Valentine Party
2/7	Sacramento Beginners' Festival, Coloma School, 7-11pm
2/7-8 & 2/10-15	Bejart Ballety of 20th Century, Royce Hall, UCLA
2/8	Bucket Dance Theatre,Wadsworth Theatre, UCLA
2/12	Barnsdall Pk,L.A.,Kenetico Dance Gallery Theatre, 8 pm
2/14-15	Oakland,Scandia Bay Area Festival
2/14	Torrance,El Camino Coll,,Hungarian State Folk Ensemble
2/15	Irish Rovers, Bridges Auditorium, Claremont College
2/20-22	RSCDS, San Diego Branch Weekend
2/21	Skandia Wkshp & Dance,Masonic Lodge, Culver City
<u>MARCH</u>	
3/1-5/3	Ukranian Art Ctr,7th Annual "Pysanky" Prog.,668-0172
3/6-7	UCLA Dance Co.Concert, Royce Hall, UCLA, 8pm
3/21	Skandia Wkshop & Dance,Womens Club, Orange
3/21	China Lake Desert Dancers Fest., 1:30-4:30pm & 8-11:30pm
3/21-22	Sacramento, Camellia Festival, Eastern Star Temple
3/21	Barnsdall Pk,L.A., Dance L.A., Gallery Theatre, 8pm
3/21	Music & Dance fr.Tibet,Beckman Aud., Cal.Tech., 8 pm
3/26-27	Ko-Thi Dance Co.,Bridges Aud., Claremont College
<u>OTHER STATES</u>	
<u>FEBRUARY & MARCH</u>	
<u>NEW YORK</u>	
2/7-8	Folk Arts Ctr,Benefit Party & Italian Concert,212/691-9510
2/12-16	Washington's B'Day,Solway House 718/436-3124
2/28	Ethnic Folk Arts Ctr,Irish Family Concert & Ceili
3/6 & 3/13	Ethnic Folk Arts Ctr,Greek Wkshp with Joe Graziosi
<u>NEW YORK, cont'dl</u>	
2/17	Ethnic Folk Arts Ctr,Bulgarian Live Music & Dance Nite
3/27-29	Spring Wknd with Danny Uziel, Jim Gold 201/836-0362
<u>WASHINGTON, D.C.</u>	
2/20-22	Norwegian Wkshp with Olav Sem, Takoma Pk Jr Hi,202/333-2826
<u>UTAH</u>	
2/24	Salt Lake City-Hungarian State Folk Ens.,Capitol Theatre
<u>NEW MEXICO</u>	
2/28	Albuquerque-Traditional Music of East.Europe,Keller Hall,U of NM
<u>ARIZONA</u>	
3/13-15	Tucson-Balkan Wkshp,Dance & Parties,U.of Az.,602/299-9609
<u>FEBRUARY & MARCH ABROAD</u>	
<u>CANADA</u> , Toronto	
2/14	Tartan Ball, Royal York Hotel
3/8	Israeli Children's Festival
3/21	Hungarian State Folk Ens.,R.Thomson Hall
3/28-29	Israeli Wkshp,Jewish Com.Ctr.
3/31-4/1	Ballet Folklorico de Mexico, R. Thomson Hall
<u>ENGLAND</u>	
2/7	London-U. of London,Balkan New Years Party
2/13-15	Hertfordshire-SIFD Weekend
<u>FRANCE</u>	
2/21-28	Yugoslav F.D.Course, 1/589-36-28
<u>HUNGARY</u>	
3/20-27	Budapest - Spring Festival Week
<u>SQUARE DANCE</u>	
<u>FEBRUARY & MARCH</u>	
2/1	CANADA,Toronto-Stew Shacklette Wkshp, 416/249-2892
2/13-41	GEORGIA,"Jekyll Island Ball"
2/27-3/1	FLORIDA,Sebring-Callers School
3/8-15	8th Bermuda S/R Dance Convention
3/13-15	TEXAS,Austin-Round-up Tx.Ass. S S/D
3/20-21	MISSOURI,Dansas City,HASSDA Spring Festival
<u>DEADLINE DATES</u>	
<u>FOR CALENDAR LISTINGS:</u>	
For Mar. 1987 issue - Jan. 16, 1987	
For Apr. 1987 issue - Feb. 14, 1987	
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GYPSIES AND THEIR ORIGIN

GYPSIES An Overview

Teri Hoffman

The word 'gypsy' evokes a myriad of images in the mind of most people—tents pitched under the stars, painted caravans, fires blazing, barefoot children, dark-skinned men and women in colorful dress, complete with golden jewelry and voluminous skirts. It also evokes images of dirt, dishonesty, sorcery and witchcraft. Which of these images is based on reality? Just who are the gypsies? Where do they come from? How do they live?

There are many folk tales and legends throughout the world regarding gypsy origin. In a story told in Macedonia, a gypsy was asked to make the nails for the cross to be used in the crucifixion of Christ. He complied as best he could, but did not have time to complete the fourth nail before the 'soldiers' returned. After they left, he finished forging it and attempted to cool it. No matter what he did, the nail remained burning hot. In fright, the gypsy fled, but the nail followed him each time he ran. To this day, when ever the nail appears, the gypsies run away.

Gypsiologists have traced the origin of gypsies to Northern India and fix the beginning of their migrations at around 1000 AD.

One of the links between present day gypsies and their supposed Indian ancestors is language. The basic gypsy tongue is Romany, a derivative of an Indian language closely related to Sanskrit. There is no known written form to Romany—only the spoken form is known. Overlaid on this basic tongue are words and phrases picked up by the gypsies during their migrations -- many Armenian, Turkish and Greek words pepper

the language.

Gypsies are also linked to India by occupation or trade. The art of metalsmithing is thought to have originated in India. There the craft was relegated to those on the fringe of society — outcasts and nomads. In present-day India, there are several castes of metal workers. These include the Tathera, the Kami (metal workers of Nepal), the Kasor (copper smelters and metal workers of Northern India) and the Lohar. Other occupations favored by today's gypsy can also be traced to Indian castes. Included in these are the Handi Josi (beggars, charlatans and thieves), the Korava (fortune tellers and charlatans in Tamil), the Nat (nomadic singers, dancers and acrobats) and the Kanjar (caste of 'gypsies' and mat makers in north and central India). Other gypsy trades include horse trading and bear leading.

After leaving India, the gypsy population took several routes

India	
Afghanistan	Persia
N. of Caspian Sea	S. of Persian Gulf
Armenia	Russia up Euphrates
Scandinavia	& Tigris Rivers
Caucasus	
Asiatic Turkey	Black Sea & Syria
Palestine & Egypt	
N. Coast of Africa	
Straits of Gibraltar	
Spain (the Gitanos)	
Crossed Bosphorous	
Greece & Balkan Peninsula	
Central Europe	
Some to British Isles	U.S.A.

Some scholars now divide the gypsies into three main groups

Kalderash—from the Balkans and Central Europe. These are primarily metalsmiths. This

group includes the Lovari, who lived for a long time in Hungary, the Luri, the Tschurari, the Turco-Americans, and the Boyas of Romania, who excelled in animal training.

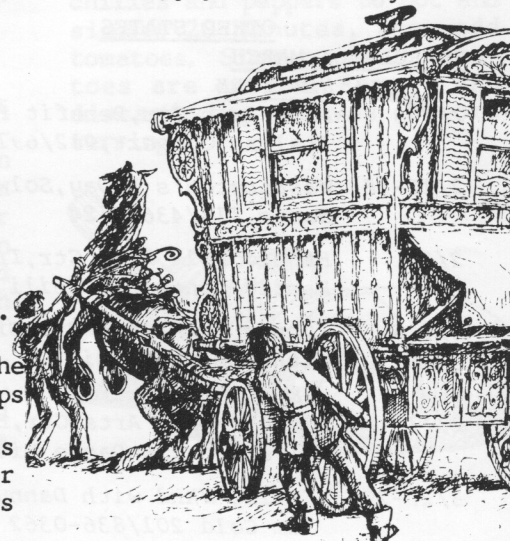
Gitanos—from south France, Spain, Portugal and north Africa

Manush or Sinti—includes Vlasikanis (France), Gaygikanis (Germany) and Piedmontesi (Italy).

Each of these groups has developed differently, adapting to the countries in which they found themselves. They changed their external behaviors to better 'fit in' to different environments. But, in typical gypsy manner, they retained all that made them gypsies—the language, the laws and the culture have remained gypsy to this day.

Bibliography (I. Gypsies overview)

- 1) Clebert, Jean Paul. "The Gypsies."
- 2) Groper, Rena C "Gypsies in the City; Culture Patterns and Survival" Darwin Press Princeton, N.J. 1975
- 3) Gypsy Lore Society.





American ROM Gypsies

Based on an article submitted
by Carol Silverman

Few Americans realize that there is a thriving Gypsy population here in the United States. The greatest Gypsy population in America belongs to the group of nomadic Gypsies or Rom (literally "man" or "Husband"). The Rom speak dialects which are, on the whole, mutually intelligible. They are divided into tribes, the most numerous of which in America are the Machwaya and the Kalderash. They are further divided into bands known as vitsi.

Gypsies first traveled to America in colonial times when the British, French, Spanish

and Portugese exiled them to the New World. Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, there has been a continuous trickle of Gypsy immigration to America, either directly from Europe or through Mexico and Canada, where immigration restrictions are more lenient. The greatest part of the current North American Gypsy population is comprised of descendants of Balkan, Eastern and Central European Gypsies who crossed the Atlantic during the waves of immigration at the turn of the 20th century. It is sometimes impossible to designate a "country of origin" for a nomadic Gypsy since he may have traveled and lived in several different countries.

The Gypsy population of the United States is difficult to estimate because the Gypsies are not reported in official census statistics. Due to long standing prejudice and persecution, plus their desire to keep their culture hidden, Gypsies have developed the skills of 'passing'. Passing involves speaking and dressing like a non-Gypsy, adopting non Gypsy names, and obtaining government papers. They deliberately conceal their ethnicity to avoid harassment by truant officers, landlords, the police and the welfare department.

The largest Gypsy population is in New York City, where there are over 1,000 fortune telling establishments. Every

American Rom Gypsies (cont.)

large American city hosts Gypsies. Far from hampering Gypsy life, the social conditions in America favor it. The United States is a mobile society, both physically and mentally. What better place for a Gypsy? The freedom of movement is an attraction, as is the availability of work. Furthermore, the United States does not require settlement registration and multiple nationality documents as do many European countries. In general, Gypsy life in the U.S. is filled with fewer difficulties than in other countries.

During the 19th century, Gypsies in America continued to follow their European life with little modification. They lived in caravans and traveled the countryside dealing in horses, plating copper and tin, telling fortunes and running carnivals. During the 1920's, increased industrialization began to affect Gypsies severely. The first occupation to disappear was horse trading (with the introduction of the automobile), followed by copersmithing (with the introduction of stainless steel). Gypsies then bought cars and trailers and became experts in the used car and the body and fender-repairing businesses. By the end of the Second World War, carnivals began to fail and Gypsies moved into the cities where fortune-telling was more profitable. In the cities, Gypsies opened storefront fortune-telling parlors (ofisi) and also discovered welfare, which remains an important source of income.

There has been a tendency to regard the urbanization of the Gypsies as a sign of lost ethnicity. For years, scholars have predicted the assimilation and disappearance of Gypsies in America. Although the changes in such areas as place of habitation, occupations, area of travel, dress, means of travel, and languages learned in addition to Romani have been correctly observed, the significance of these changes

has been misread. These scholars failed to realize that these areas of Gypsy life have been changing for centuries and will continue to change. This is precisely the Gypsies' tactic for survival. They are masters of adaptation and re-adaptation. Whatever the city or country, the Gypsy has an intuitive ability to perceive, learn and practice the appropriate externals of daily life without compromising his Gypsy ethnicity. When it comes to their value system and religion, with its concomitant social structures and taboos, little has changed for centuries.

In the area of occupations, for example, the switch from tinkering to sale and repair of cars represents virtually no change for the Gypsy because work is viewed as nothing more than a means to earn money from the world of non-Gypsies. Gypsies rarely earn money from each other. Those who argue that Gypsies have been assimilated because of the loss of traditional occupations neglect the larger picture. Gypsies are not loyal to any particular occupation for the sake of tradition; they only require that the occupation be lucrative while not compromising basic values such as mobility and independence. Thus, a Gypsy would rarely be the employee of a non-Gypsy; he or she prefers to be self-employed. Tinkering is not only a 'folk art', but a convenient livelihood. Gypsies became tinkers at a time when tinkering was profitable and in demand, not only because it represented something 'Gypsy'.

Similarly, fortune-telling has been traditionally retained as a women's occupation because it is portable and profitable. Young girls learn the trade from their mothers and older siblings through constant exposure. There is little formal training but much observation and practice.

Fortune tellers are called "Readers and Advisers" in the U.S. because predicting the

future for money is illegal. Fortune-telling is a psychological art which requires quick character evaluation based on the appearance and manner of a customer. Shrewd Gypsy women know much about the fears and desires of their customers. Readers advertise in local newspapers and magazines through the distribution of printed handbills. Women usually provide the family's income and usually keep the money; men work when they want and request money from their wives. This is the most usual pattern among the American Rom; in non-Rom groups, the men may serve as breadwinners. In cities where fortune-telling or its advertising are strictly prohibited, male occupations become dominant. For example, in Los Angeles, women hardly tell fortunes, and the men engage in real estate and in the used car business.

In terms of language, we cannot judge the Gypsies assimilation by their knowledge of English. What is important is that they maintain Romani as the means of communication within the Gypsy world. They can learn as many other languages as needed. In fact, the more the better; multi-lingualism has always been a significant asset for Gypsies.

Another misconception about the urbanization of American Gypsies is that they are miserable today because they live cooped up in cities. It is a romantic stereotype that where former Gypsies traveled freely and joyfully in picturesque caravans and camped under the stars, today they suffer from being relegated to urban streets. In actuality, both of these statements are naively simplistic. Gypsies moved to the cities because fortune-telling and welfare were profitable there. Furthermore, Gypsy life is a sequence of groupings and regroupings; hence, Gypsies never consider their dwellings permanent.

Actually, Gypsies find it more difficult to function in rural or upper class areas because

the Gypsy way of life is not well-tolerated in this environment, and business is poor if not altogether illegal. In the U.S., busy urban streets offer Gypsies more freedom and the greatest business advantages. In other countries, Gypsies have sought less exposure to the public eye, and thus may prefer to live in areas less appealing to the local population.

Gypsies do not live in compact communities; they live in storefronts scattered around major shopping districts. In New York City, there is an unwritten agreement that fortune telling parlors should be at least three blocks apart to

minds of the American Rom although they may remain sedentary for long periods of time. Travel is necessary to find brides for their sons, to attend Gypsy celebrations, to be near sick relatives, and to find profitable fortune-telling locations. They think nothing of traveling 600 miles to attend a Gypsy wedding. Many Rom travel to warm climates for the winter. Travel is also a viable means of problem solving, that is, by physically removing oneself from the source of conflict. The advent of the automobile has made traveling faster and more comfortable than caravan travel. Not only is automobile travel better in these ways,

The Gypsies are not a displaced people in America. They have no national "homeland" so they are not typical immigrants. They are simultaneously 'at home' in America while never really 'belonging'. In fact, they neither expect nor desire to belong to the larger culture.

Gypsies view the world of the Gazho (non-Gypsy) as different and incompatible with their own; they maintain a strict separation from the gazho in all social matters. The only contact with non-Gypsies is in the economic sphere.



prevent cut-throat competition. The interiors of their homes are often lavish and opulent, decorated with satins, velvets and brocades, with plush carpets, many couches, marbled mirrors, chandeliers, huge lamps and statues. A Gypsy is very proud of his home, which is the center of Gypsy life as well as a status symbol. Likewise, large expensive cars, plentiful food, and opulent jewelry, clothing, shoes and hats are visible status symbols.

One parameter of Gypsy ethnicity is nomadism, if not as actual behavior, then as ideal behavior. The option to travel is constantly present in the

but it is also "the American Way". A Gypsy may explain his nomadism to an outsider in commonplace American terms, such as, "I just came back from vacation". For a Gypsy, however, work and vacation are virtually the same; a Gypsy takes his life style and culture with him wherever he is.

Gypsy nomadism is unique because it operates on a worldwide scale and is woven into both Western and Eastern, urban and rural, and industrial and agricultural societies.

The role of language is very important in maintaining the boundary between Gypsy and gazho. Gypsies know that Romani is their exclusive property and they can say anything without fear of its being understood by the gazho.

The separation between the Gypsy and gazho orders the Gypsy world view and provides a kind of cognitive map of Gypsy reality. The separation is grounded in the taboo system which defines the outside world as ritually unclean (marhime). If a Gypsy moves into a non-Gypsy apartment, it must be carefully scoured. Gypsies prefer to follow other

American Rom Gypsies (cont.)

Gypsy tenants, although they concede that some Gypsies are dirtier than Americans. Not only do Gypsies refuse to eat in non-Gypsy homes, but they only eat in restaurants that are "Gypsy-approved", that is, recommended for the cleanliness by other Gypsies. Even then, they prefer to use paper cups rather than drink out of a cup used by gazhe.

The center of cleanliness is the head (especially the mouth) and anything that is to touch it, whether food or clothing, is selectively screened. The area below the waist is marhime. Thus Gypsies have different towels and soaps for the two body regions. A person is presentable in the morning only after washing his face. When staying in motels, they bring their own pillows and prefer to use paper towels.

There are also strict rules for the washing of clothing. Underclothes are washed in separate tubs from outer garments. Men's and women's clothes are washed separately and never allowed to touch. Headscarves may not be ironed on body towels. Similarly, since dishes and soaps cannot touch a marhime sink, they are washed in special basins.

The bathroom and washing areas are marhime. It is considered highly improper for a woman to excuse herself to go to the bathroom in the presence of men. Anything to do with sex, pregnancy, or the lower body is forbidden as a topic of conversation. Young girls make excuses to switch the television channel when watching a slightly off-color program with their parents or even with siblings.

Food preparation is strictly supervised. Gypsies prefer to buy meat from recommended butchers. Separate utensils and plates are reserved for gazhe customers and visitors. The floor is treated much like the ground in a campsite; any food or utensil that touches the floor should be thrown out (or

sterilized) and the floor is swept three to four times a day.

A large concern of the taboo system is the uncleanness of the female and her threat to male ritual purity. Women must be covered from their waists to their calves. They may wear pants only in the privacy of their homes; for the Gypsy public (Roma, that is, Gypsies outside the family) they wear long skirts. A woman may deliberately make a man marhime by lifting her skirt over his head; a man can also become marhime by engaging in sexual relations with a non-Gypsy woman. A defiled man is virtually excommunicated from the Gypsy life—he cannot eat or socialize with other Gypsies. This separation is enforced by the will of public opinion and can be reversed only through an official meeting of respected men (kris).

Marhime rules are the basis of division of the sexes in Gypsy society. At all public occasions, men and women are separate—they sit, talk, eat and dance separately (the only exception is an elder respected woman who may be asked to sit with men). A woman does not walk directly across a group of seated men because she would be crossing male territory and because her lower parts would be higher than the man's upper body. A woman rarely sits on the same couch as a man, even her husband. As soon as Roma arrive in the Gypsy home, the women withdraw to the kitchen, ready to serve the men. Men eat first, followed by elder married women, and finally by children and new brides.

With these elaborate rituals, it is not surprising that Gypsies view non-Gypsies as careless and dirty. They also regard the gazhe as promiscuous, for the Rom value chastity before marriage and fidelity after marriage, at least for the women.

The separation of girls' and boys' lives is a natural ex-

tension of the strict separation between male and female spheres. Boys spend much more time out of the house than girls, accompanying their fathers in business or leisure. Girls remain at home to cook, clean, shop and tell fortunes. Children do not regularly attend school, for contact with the gazhe is to be avoided.

Marriages take place at an early age (14 years old in some vitsi), and from birth, children are prepared to fulfill their obligations to marry and raise children. Children are a man's wealth, especially sons, for sons remain close to their parents and bring their wives into the male's family. Marriages with non-Gypsies rarely occur, and when they do, it is a man who



Photo by Ruth Partington

marries a non-Gypsy girl, not the reverse. She usually gives up her non-Gypsy life, learns to tell fortunes, speak Romani and leads the life of a Romni (married Gypsy woman). Her status remains low until she has children.

Marriages are arranged by the parents, sometimes with the children's consent. A girl is raised with an eye to her potential worth as a bride, since the boy's family initiates the search for a bride, and competition may be stiff. The boy's family pays a brideprice (anywhere from \$2000 to \$9000) for the girl, although a small portion is returned as a gift to the marital couple to help pay for the wedding. The brideprice is an economic

exchange between the two families: the girl's parents are compensated for the loss of a breadwinner, and the boy's parents pay for her life-time worth as a provider. A girl's price is determined by her skills in fortune-telling and home-making, her family's reputation, her appearance, personality, demeanor, and by the current market.

The only alternative to an arranged marriage is elopement, which may end in a legitimate economic settlement between the two families or else may cause long family feuds. Dating is unheard of, since any pre-marital contact between the sexes is prohibited. At public events, girls and boys socialize separately, and rarely speak to each other except in passing or on the sly. Brides are expected to be virgins, which isn't too hard if one marries at 15 years of age. There is a test and a celebration of virginity after the wedding night.

When a girl marries, she leaves her own family, becomes part of her husband's family sphere, and adopts his vitsa. She virtually marries his whole family and is called bori (bride, wife, married-in-person, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law) by all of them.

Before giving her daughter away, a mother is very careful to check the reputation of the boy's family, especially the mother-in-law (sokra), since the girl will be taking orders from the sokra from then on. The bori's status is very low; she is expected to work hard, serve the men, and eat last. Her status grows when she has children and proves her earning power. After a year or so, she and her husband may establish their own household. At least one son, however, will remain with the parents.

A marriage may break up if the boy's parents are not satisfied with their new bori—she may be lazy, dirty, or not have produced children. Alternatively, the girl herself may

be dissatisfied and run home to her parents. Usually, half the brideprice is returned. At any age, a girl has asylum with her parents and they will defend her in public. She may be a virtual stranger to them, having left home at the age of 14, but the right of birth is a strong tie.

Gypsy marriages are not usually contracted through the American legal or religious system. They are common-law, made official only through Gypsy custom and celebration. Weddings are community events; there is rarely a written invitation. Word spreads quickly through the Gypsy communication network, facilitated by the telephone.

As cadillacs begin to gather outside the hall, huge quantities of food are being prepared inside. In addition to catered food, the boy's family prepares roast lambs and pigs, yuto sarme (spicy rolled cabbage), piroga (sweet noodle pudding), and other Gypsy specialties. Gypsies begin to arrive from all over the country, dressed in the latest mod fashions, but with the Gypsy flair of colorful chiffons and opulent gold jewelry for women and cowboy styles and expensive hats for men. Men and women sit at separate ends of the hall, while teenagers dance disco-style to American rock music and Romanes (in the Gypsy way) to Gypsy music. Every Gypsy girl learns to dance basso (a fast 2/4 dance with syncopated stamps, arm movements and clapping) and sing Gypsy songs, for she may be called upon to perform in front of the men. Musical talent is highly valued in in-group contexts.

The focal point of the wedding occurs when the bride changes into a white gown, lets her hair down, and dances kholo. In this line dance she is led around the room by various members of her husband's family, especially her mother-in-law, who holds and dances with the bridal veil. From the moment she places the veil on



American Rom Gypsies (cont.)

the bride's head, the bori must wear a diklo (headscarf) to show she is a married woman.

Another important part of the wedding ritual is the collection of the daro (dowry). As the men sit eating, an appointed master-of-ceremonies goes around to each baro Rom (respected, literally "big" man) and floridly asks for a contribution. He speaks in formulaic language, extolling the virtues of the couple and the reputation of the Rom. He stuffs the money into a huge round bread that has been hollowed out and gives each Rom a glass of beer and a colored scarf. Each man gives anywhere from \$15 to \$100, depending on how close he is to the parents of the couple. Later, the daro is counted and the final amount is announced, often totalling a few thousand dollars. The money is ostensibly a gift to the bridal couple, but it actually goes to the boy's father who has paid for the entire wedding.

The events of the public life of the Gypsy—weddings (abyaw) and funeral feasts (pomana), saint's days (slava), baptisms (bolimos) and feasts of respect (pakiv) are the focal points of social activities within the closed Gypsy world. At such celebrations, people scattered over wide distances see each other, exchange news, information, and gossip, renew contacts, and arrange for future marriages. Gypsies are very people-oriented; little else besides health, happiness and luck and money matter to them. They are undisturbed by the effects of time and distance; months or years can pass without altering a relationship. They rarely adhere to schedules, never plan ahead, but prefer to do things on the spur of the moment, whether it is cooking a meal, hiring a hall for a wedding, or taking a trip.

The texture of their lives turns on talk; the telephone

is continually ringing in a Gypsy house, and phone bills often exceed \$300 a month. Communication within the Gypsy world is a vital and efficient force in Gypsy life. News of a death can spread across the country in a matter of hours, with hundreds of Gypsies gathering in a few days.

Because of the public nature of Gypsy life, great importance is invested in a person's reputation and status. Food is an important status marker and a symbol of hospitality and sharing. A family spends much money "putting up a beautiful table" for a holiday celebration such as a slava. This may involve spending hundreds of dollars on fruit that is out of season. The focus of any celebration is the table, which is set opulently for the public to admire.

This is especially true at funeral feasts, when the family of the deceased spends an entire day arranging a huge table in a rented hall. Gypsies believe in spirits of the dead (mule) and are careful to treat the dead with utmost respect. Similarly, a sick person is vulnerable to the spirits and should never be left alone. Funeral feasts occur at three days, nine days, six weeks, six months, and one year after death. In addition, early in the morning of every major holiday, the family prepares a table of food, amen das ando was (literally, "we give from the hand) in honor of the dead. Meat, nuts, candy and fruit are eaten, incense is burned, and prayers uttered

On occasions of the latter, pomani, a full set of expensive clothing, is given to a person representing the deceased. He or she is treated with utmost respect at the feast. Accepting clothes is considered an honor, but it is sometimes feared because of the contact with spirits of the dead.

Gypsies believe that the forces of the supernatural can affect man's fate. Certain

Gypsy women who can interpret dreams and expertly read from cards are considered powerful. Other Gypsies often seek advice from them. When these women utter curses (amraya), they are potent. For example, during a recent family feud, an old woman put an amraya on an apartment; after that, no Gypsy family would dare move in.

Power resides in certain men, on the other hand, not for intuitive ability but for practical knowledge in dealing with the gazhe world. However, these so-called "kings" hold no absolute authority with the community. In fact, there is no such thing as absolute power in the Gypsy world. Family loyalties determine power alliances, which are usually temporary. A council of family heads (kris) makes decisions regarding maritime cases and territorial rights for fortune telling, and the force of public opinion enforces their decisions. The kris is a fluid body; it is assembled anew with different members for each case.

Gypsies themselves perpetuate misconceptions such as "The King of the Gypsies". This title has been deliberately used to inflate the power and romanticism of the Gypsies. The "king" is really a public relations man who serves as a go-between for governmental authorities and Gypsies. He secures apartments, fortune-telling parlors, and arranges for welfare and medical care.

For centuries, the Gypsies have concealed their culture, remained separate, and in the process retained their "Gypsy-ness". In spite of the fact that scholars have for years predicted the decline of Gypsy culture, the Gypsies seem to be thriving in America. Through adaptation to varying environments, they have accommodated to American life while retaining their core of ethnicity; they change and yet remain Gypsy. Perhaps this ability to adapt is their key to cultural survival.

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G Y P S Y M U S I C & D A N C E

Carol Silverman

Throughout Gypsy history, music and dance have been an integral part of their culture as well as an excellent source of income from the non-Gypsy world.

Gypsies learn the art of dance from early childhood. They are not formally taught--they learn a huge vocabulary of dance movements by imitation. Children are encouraged to dance and through dance learn many of the basic sexual roles allowed within Gypsy society. There are distinct male and female steps, step patterns and styles. Dance is also considered a pleasure to behold, and so, at times, one person will dance for another as a 'gift'.

Among the American Rom, traditional dance takes the form of either the 'basso' or the 'kolo'. The kolo is done only at weddings, and consists of a long line of dancers doing a few steps repetitively. The dance is simple, with no competition between dancers.

The 'basso', on the other hand, can be done spontaneously at any occasion when Gypsies gather. It can be done either as a solo, or as a couple, but if it is couple, the partners never have any physical contact with each other. The dance is highly competitive, and there is much interaction between the dancer and the audience. As in other aspects of Gypsy life, male and female roles are clearly different. Male steps include squats, rhythmical stamping and foot slaps. Females have a fast dance section, followed by a slow, lyrical section, followed by another fast section. Their torsos and hands are used a lot, with many expressive hand movements.

As previously stated, Gypsies and music have been tightly

interwoven throughout their history. Music is a profession that has continuously provided Gypsies with a viable economic niche in Balkan society. In Bulgaria, Gypsies have a virtual monopoly of some instruments, namely the zurna (oboe) and the tupan (2-headed drum). Whatever instrument they play, Gypsies learn the repertoire of the local peasantry in order to become indispensable at festivities such as weddings, baptisms, house warmings and saint's days festivals.

Music means more within the Gypsy society than 'just a source of income'. There is music and dance played by Gypsies for Gypsies. Much of this is rarely heard or seen by the gazhe. An example of this to be found is the kjuček, a type of music and dance heavily influenced by Turkish music, attributed to the Bulgarian Gypsies.

When we speak of music by and for Gypsies, we come to an argument amongst scholars regarding the nature of Gypsy music. Arguments center around the definition of "pure" Gypsy music as against "borrowed peasant tunes". A paper by Carol Silverman, "Gypsy Ethnicity and the Social Contexts of Music", written in 1977, addresses this argument. In it, she states that music is an expressive act which derives its meaning from its performance context rather than from its origin. The remainder of this article is based on information taken from her paper.

The first thing to remember is that music means work to many Gypsies in the Balkans and Central Europe. (This doesn't necessarily apply to those in the U.S.).

In all probability, Gypsies

were musicians from the beginning of their world-wide migration; certainly it was compatible with nomadic life. But music, although it may be one of the oldest Gypsy occupations, is ONLY ONE of a great number of Gypsy trades. A Gypsy's occupation depends on what is needed, what is available, what is profitable and what fits into the Gypsy life style in a particular country. These conditions may change as often as weekly; thus, Gypsies are extremely adaptable when it comes to occupations. Some of these occupations have become 'traditional' because over the years they have met the above-mentioned needs. Music and fortune-telling are two of these 'traditional' occupations.

Gypsies as professional musicians perform for non-Gypsy audiences for pay at various events. At these events they are required to know thoroughly the native repertoire. They provide whatever music their non-Gypsy audience wants. They have become expert with their host country's music. Often they are better at playing it than the natives themselves.

Their nomadic lifestyle gave them the opportunity to enlarge their repertoire. One musician might know the folk dance tunes of three or four countries or eight or nine different cultures. Whatever the locality and the occasion demands, the Gypsy will learn. Thus, their tastes are eclectic and they may be called multi-musical. They do not passively assimilate the music and customs of the countries of their adoption; rather, they become competent performers, often to the extent of becoming the most typical exponents and practitioners of that music.

So far we have discussed exo-

teric Gypsy music, that is for outsiders. Turning now to esoteric Gypsy music, we find that among themselves, Gypsies will often play precisely the same music they play for outsiders, plus another body of music consisting of songs in the Romani language. These songs are usually not sung for outsiders and they often deal with typical Gypsy themes. Although there is this separate body of music enacted only in esoteric contexts, there is still a broad stylistic unity in the music a Gypsy performs in a given locality. The same performing features occur in whatever music a Gypsy performs. The following list of features applies to the music of Gypsies in the Balkans and their descendants in the U.S. All features are stated in comparison to the host country's music:

- 1) greater use of pitches not in the Western tempered system
- 2) a great deal of melodic variation from stanza to stanza
- 3) a great deal of melisma
- 4) a great deal of ornamentation
- 5) a great deal of vibrato
- 6) a great deal of improvisation
- 7) a great deal of tempo flexibility, including rubato, prolonged rests and syncopation
- 8) a great deal of emotion, shown by actual crying in songs and abrupt volume change

These features apply to instrumental as well as vocal music.

To further illustrate the exoteric/esoteric dimensions of performance, let us move from music to dance, using Yugoslavia as an example. Four categories of Yugoslav Gypsy dance can be identified:

- 1) dances performed by Gypsies for Gypsies (esoteric)

- 2) dances performed by Gypsies for outsiders for money
- 3) dances performed by Gypsy dance ensembles for outsiders for no money
- 4) dances performed by non-Gypsy ensembles imitating Gypsies (Ciganske Igre).

As reported by Elsie Dunin in "Gypsy Wedding: Dance and Customs", esoteric Gypsy dances consist of two types: cocek and ora. Cocek is performed indoors by segregated groups of men or women while ora are performed outdoors by mixed groups. In previous generations, cocek used to be performed by Gypsy women for non-Gypsies for money, and in most cases, the erotic nature of the dance is noted. However, the same cocek, performed esoterically, has no erotic connotations; in fact, cocek is performed under strictly segregated conditions--indoors with the curtains drawn. The same dance, then, has opposite cultural meanings in two different contexts. For the public audience, Gypsies capitalize on the erotic image of the Gypsy which has no validity esoterically.

Recently, a new dance phenomenon has appeared in Yugoslavia--Gypsy dance ensembles. In seeking recognition as a national minority, the Gypsies have followed the path of other minorities in publically presenting their folk music and dance. Gypsy dances were altered to conform to their idea of what a proper Yugoslav ensemble should be. All distinctions between segregated and mixed dances broke down. Gypsy choreographers employed theatrical conventions similar to other groups, such as complicated geometric patterns. Among Gypsies, of course, none of this would be found. The ensembles dressed in costumes Gypsies would never wear. In general, the "put on a show"

of what they thought the public wanted as Gypsy folklore. One ensemble even imitated what peasant groups did to portray the "wild Gypsies"; in other words, the Gypsies imitated the imitations of themselves by non-Gypsies.

The most important parameter of Gypsy musical performance, then, is audience. The origin of the music matters little; rather, its performance is meaningful socially. When Gypsies perform for non-Gypsies they play to the demands of that audience. When a Gypsy performs for other Gypsies, they activate a different set of performance rules and meanings.

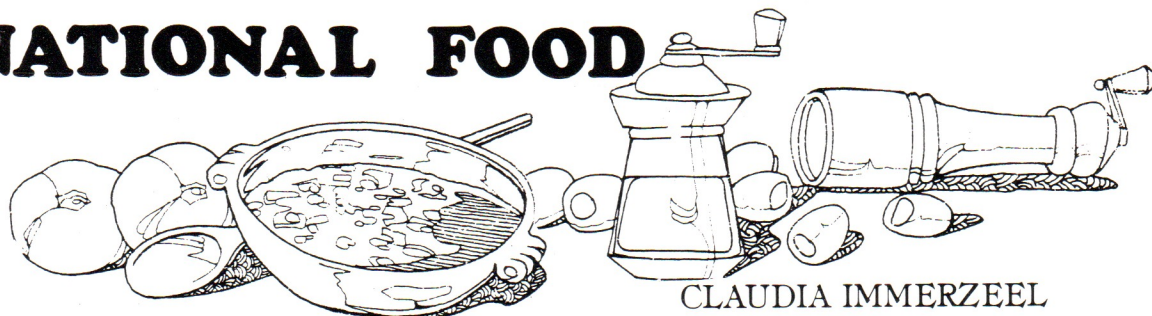
What effect does this catering to public taste have on in-group folklore? It has a great deal of effect, but in selective ways. The underlying philosophy with regard to the host culture can be summarized as follows: if it fits in with Gypsy values, by all means adopt it. This is true of songs and dances as well as clothes, hairstyles, languages, houses and cars. But it must not conflict with core values; thus, neither socializing with non-Gypsies nor breaches in the taboo system are permitted.

Gypsy folklore has changed for centuries and will continue to change precisely because the Gypsy is a master of adaptation and flexibility. He takes the essence of popular culture and molds it to conform to the Gypsy life style. This interaction with the surrounding culture makes Gypsies unique and may, in fact, define their ethnicity.

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INTERNATIONAL FOOD



CLAUDIA IMMERZEEL

THE ROM: THE OLD DAYS

Like many ethnic groups, the Rom have a special feeling for the preparation and serving of food. Mealtimes are important family occasions and to be invited to share a family's meal is an honor.

Traditionally, men, children and women dined separately, in that order, with the last to be served being the young daughters in law.

In the old days, when they still wandered, the Rom preferred foods that required a minimal amount of fuss. Boiled and simmered foods required little supervision, and every family had a good cauldron for soups and stews. Roasting was convenient, but baked goods were too difficult to prepare. After potatoes were introduced to Europe, they were baked by being buried in the hot ashes of the campfire. Spicy stews called paprikash were popular and were usually made of rabbit (Xaimoko), or chicken (Puyo), since beef; (Xabe) was rather expensive; in those days. The bread was usually Bufa (also called Pufe) a flour bread fried on a griddle, or Xaritsa (fried cornbread). Spicy soups like Fusui Eski Zumi (butter bean soup) were also popular.

Meals were served twice a day: in the morning, and four, or five in the afternoon. They consisted of a meat, or fish dish, large amounts of salad, soup and bread.

ROAST CHICKEN

1 lb chicken pieces (your choice)

Marinade:

1/3 cup oil
1 tsp cayenne pepper
2-3 bay leaves
1/4 cup water
2 tsps vinegar, or lemon juice
salt & pepper to taste

Mix ingredients for marinade and pour over chicken. Let stand for 4 hours, turning occasionally. Place chicken in shallow roasting pan, or baking dish and baste with any remaining marinade. Bake in 450 degree oven until chicken is just done. Place under broiler unit until chicken is golden brown. Serve with baked potatoes, or Bufa.

BUFA (FRIED BREAD)

2 cups all purpose flour
4 tsps baking powder
1/2 tsp salt
1 beaten egg
1/2 cup shortening, room temp.
1/2 cup water, or milk
2 tsp sugar

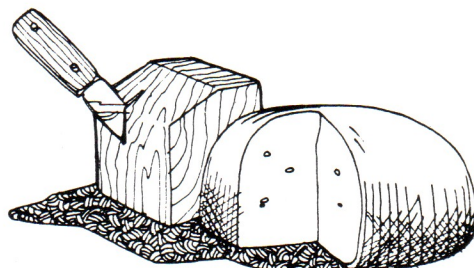
Mix dry ingredients, then cut in shortening until dough resembles coarse crumbs. Mix in remaining ingredients with a fork. Don't mix too well, or bread will be tough. Turn dough onto lightly floured surface and knead with a dozen strokes. Break off pieces of dough and form into balls. Roll out into 8 inch rounds. Place around on a greased skillet and cook over medium

heat 3-4 minutes each side. serve warm.

FUSUI ESKI ZUMI (BUTTER BEAN SOUP)

1 1/2 quarts boiling water
1 cup dried butter beans
3 medium tomatoes
4 tablespoons tomato paste
1/4 cup diced green chilis
1 tsp dried red pepper flakes
(or less !!)
1/2 medium onion, chopped
3-4 cloves garlic, crushed
2 bay leaves
margerine or butter
1 cup diced cooked ham
(optional)
2 cups beef stock, or 2 cups water plus two bouillon cubes

Cover beans with boiling water and soak overnight. Put beans and water in pot and bring to a boil. Reduce heat, add bay leaves and simmer until beans are just tender. Saute onions and garlic in margerine. Cut tomatoes into quarters. Add tomato paste, onions, garlic, chilies and peppers to pot and simmer 20 minutes, then add tomatoes. Simmer until tomatoes are cooked. Remove and discard bay leaves before serving.



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FOLKARTISERS	Friday 8-10:pm	(213)338-2929		COVINA, Las Palmas Jr. High, 6441 N. LARK Ellen Ave	Beg. teaching 1st hr; int/adv. request follows.
HAVERN FOLK DANCERS	Monday 8-10:30PM	(818)786-6310 John Savage, instr.		VAN ANYS, Valley Cities Jewish Ctr. 13164 Burbank Bl.	
HOLLYWOOD PRESENTS	Wednesday 7:30-10:30pm	(213)380-4355 OR Ruth Oser 657-1692		WEST HOLLYWOOD, W. Hollywood playground 647 n. San Vicente	Last Wed. of month is all request night.
INTERMEDIATE FOLK DANCERS	Friday 8-10:30pm	(213)397-5039		CULVER CITY, Linberg Park, Ocean Ave. & Rhoda Way	
KAYSO FOLK DANCERS	Fri. 9am-12 noon Sat. 12:30-3pm	(619)238-1771 Sophomolan, instr.		SAN DIEGO, Casa Del Prado, Rm 206 Balboa Park. on Sat. 4044 Idaho st.	Beginners Sat 12:30-1:15pm
KIRYA FOLK DANCERS I	Wednesday 10am-1:30pm	(213)645-7509 Rhea Wexler, Instr.		WEST HOLLYWOOD, W. Hollywood Rec. Ctr. 647 N. San Vicente	Int. 10-11:45am Adv. Beg. noon-1:30pm
KIRYA FOLK DANCERS II	Tuesday 10am-1pm	(213)645-7509 Rhea Wexler, Instr.		LOS ANGELES, Robertson Park 1641 Pears Rd. cor. Alhambra	10-11:30am adv. 11:30am-1pm, beginners
LAGUNA FOLK DANCERS	Wednesday 7:15-10:30pm	(714)494-3302, 559-5672		LAGUNA BEACH, Laguna Beach Hi danco studio,	
LAVANTS	Friday 3:30-6:15pm	(213)322-1280 Tom & Nancy Mazzola		WESTCHESTER, United Methodist Church, 8065 Emerson Ave. L.A.	Int'l. Folk/square/social. Grades 1st-high school
LONG BEACH JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER	Sun. & Wed. 7:30-10:pm	(213) 426-7601		LONG BEACH, Long Beach high school dance studio Behind tennis courts on Park Ave.	
MORE THE MERRIER FOLK DANCERS	Thursday 8-10pm	(213)294-1304 Ask for Frank.		INTELMOOD, Rogers Park And. Bacalypots & Beach	Every 3rd Sat. Special Dance Party. 7:30-11pm refreshments \$2.
MARODIN DANCERS OF LONG BEACH	Thursday 7:15-10:30pm	(213)421-9105 Lucille (714)892-9166 Laura		LONG BEACH, Hill Jr. High Gym 1100 Iroquois.	
NICHENO FOLK DANCERS	Tue. 7:30-10:30pm Wed 8-10:30pm	(805)967-9991 Flora Cohen		SANTA BARBARA, Carrillo Rec Ctr, 100 E. Carrillo St.,	Wed: International Beg/Int. Tue: Scandinavian Int.
OJAI FOLK DANCERS	Wed. 7:30-10pm	(805)649-1570		OJAI Ojai Art Center, 113 S. Montgomery	
ORANGE COUNTY FOLK DANCERS	Fri. 9-11:30pm	(714)557-4662 (213)866-4324		SANTA ANA, Santa Ana College W. 17th St. at N. Bristol	
PASADENA FOLK DANCE CO-OP	Fri. 8-11pm	(818)749-6919		PASADENA, Throp memorial church 300 S. Los Robles	Beg 8-8:30 Inter 8:30-9
SAN DIEGO FOLK DANCERS	Mon. 7:30-10pm	(619)460-8475 Evelyn Frewett		SAN DIEGO, Recital Hall, Balboa Park	

VAN DIEGO INT'L DANCE CLUB	Wed. 7-10pm	(619) 422-5540 Stirling, Instr.	SAN DIEGO, Balboa Park club Balboa Park	ALL levels, beg. 7-8:15
SANTA MARIA FOLK DANCERS	Mon. 7-9:30pm	(805) 925-3981 (805) 929 1415	SANTA MARIA, Vet's Cultural Ctr. Pine & Funnell	Beg. 7-8:15 then club requests
SKANDIA DANCE CLUB	Feb 21 3-5, 8-11pm	(213) 459-5314	CULVER CITY, 9635 Venice Blvd ORANGE, 121 S. Center CULVER CITY, 9635 Venice Blvd	workshop @ 3/ eve. dance @ 8 call (818) 901-7966 for special events.
SOUTH BAY FOLK DANCERS	Fri. 7:30-10:30pm	(213) 375-0946 (213) 541-1073	RANCHO PALOS VERDES DU Church 5621 Montemalaga Dr.	Tchr Dorothy Daw 3rd Fri. Party nice each month
TCHAIKA FOLK DANCE CLUB OF VENTURA	Thur. 8:00-10:30pm	(805) 642-3931 (805) 985-7316	VENTURA, Loma Vista Elen School, 300 Lynn Dr.	8:00-8:20 tching Ethel Hayman 8:20-8:45 tching Edith Sekell
TUESDAY GYPSIES	Tues. 7:30-10pm	(213) 556-3791 Dave Slater, Instr.	WEST L.A., Felicia Mahood Ctr. Awd. 11338 Santa Monica Blvd	Feb. 17th Joe Graziosi, \$4
VIRGILIERS FOLK DANCE GROUP	Tues. 8-10pm	Josephine Civello Director	WEST HOLLYWOOD, Plummer Park, Fuller Santa Monica Blvd	ALL request program. tching 8:30 refreshments. inter & adv dances
WEST LOS ANGELES FOLK DANCERS	Fri. 7:30-10:45pm	(213) 478-4659, (213) 202-6166 Beverly Barr.	WEST L.A., BROCKTON SCH., 1309 Armacost Ave.	Int'l - Int. level excellent teaching Tch 7:30-Scottish set dance.
WEST VALLEY FOLK DANCERS	Fri. 7:30-10:30pm	(818) 347-3423 (818) 887-9613	WOODLAND HILLS, Woodland Hills Rec Ctr. 5858 Shoup Ave.	Tch: 8:30-9:00pm also Beginner's Class
WESTSIDE CENTER FOLK DANCERS	Tues. morning 9-12:15pm	(213) 389-5369 Pearl Rosenthal	WEST L.A., Westside Jewish Community Ctr. 5870 N. Olympic.	Int'l dances. Beg. 9-10
WESTSIDE INT'L F.D. CLUB	2nd & 4th Fri. 8-12pm	(213) 459-5314 (213) 397-4567	CULVER CITY, Masonic Temple 9635 Venice Blvd	all levels, Request 9-13
WESTSIDE TANCHAZOK	4th Sat. 7:30-12pm	(213) 397-4567 (213) 390-4168	Culver City, Masonic Temple 9635 Venice Blvd	Class 7:30-9pm LIVE MUSIC !!!
WESTWOOD CO-OP FOLK DANCERS	Thur. 8-10:45pm	(818) 343-7621 (818) 998-5682	WEST L.A., Emerson Jr. H.S Boys Gym 1670 Selby Ave.	Tch 8-9 pm program 9-10:45pm
WHLITLER CO-OP FOLK DANCERS	2nd and 4th Sat. 7:30-10:30pm	WHLITLER, SORENSEN PARK, 11419 Rosemeade Dr.		Tching 7:30-8pm
NON-FEDERATION CLUBS				
CALTECH HILZEL ISRAELI DANCERS	Sun. 7:30-10:30	(213) 260-3908 (818) 577-8464	Pasadena, Caltech Campus, Administration Wilson and California-Penthouse floor.	Tching 7:30-8:30pm Dancing 8:30-10:30pm
CALTECH INT'L FOLK DANCERS	Tuesday 8-11:55 pm	(213) 849-2095; (714) 593-2645	PASADENA, Caltech Campus, Dabney Hall. Parking off Del Mar from Chestnut.	Teaching 8-9 pm; dancing after. Party last Tuesday of month.
CLAIREMONT FOLK DANCERS	Wed 7:30-10:00pm	Christi Perala	CLAIREMONT, MCKINNA mens college 9th at Clairemont.	International-heavy on Balkan
DANCE WITH MARIO CASSETTA	Mon 7:30-10:15 Wed 7:30-10:15	(213) 656-3150 (213) 743-5252	Temple Beth El. 1317 Crescent Heights Performing Arts 3131 Figueroa	All levels welcome. Listen to Mario 9-11 am. KRFK
DEL MAR SHORES INT'L FOLK DANCERS	Monday 6:45 & 8:15	(619) 475-2776 Geri Dukes	DEL MAR, Mira Costa College 9th & Stratford ct. Del Mar.	Start Sep 23 8wk session. Beg at 6:45 & Inter at 8:15pm
GREEK FOLK DANCE CLASS	Thursday 1-3 pm	(213) 769-3765 Trudy Bronson,	VAN NUYS, Valley Cities Jewish Com- munity Center, 13164 Burbank Blvd.	Beginners 1-2 pm; Intermediate 2-3 pm.
KAZAKA	Sunday 9 pm	(213) 478-5968; Boly Greenblatt	WEST L.A., Japanese Inst., 2110 Corinth, W.L.A.	7:00pm Beginners 8:00pm Inter. open dances follows classes
KYPSELLI	Friday 7:30-midnight	(213) 463-8506 (818) 798-5042	Pasadena, Vasa Hall 2031 E. Villa	Tching 7:30-8:45 All levels welcome
LONG BEACH INT'L FOLK DANCERS	Tuesday 7:30-10 pm	(213) 434-0103 Herb Offner,	LONG BEACH, Unitarian Church, 5450 Atherton	Beg. 7:30; Int/adv. 8:30 pm Party last Tuesday of month.
TEMPLE BETH HILZEL DANCERS	Wednesday 10 am - 12 pm	(213) 769-3765 Trudy Bronson,	NORTH HOLLYWOOD, 12326 Riverside Dr.	Beg. to inter. levels, Int'l folk and fun dances.
TEMPLE B'NAI DAVID	Wed/7:15-10 pm Thurs/9:30 am-1 pm	Miriam Dean (213) 391-8970	LOS ANGELES, 8906 Pico Blvd, CULVER CITY, VA Mem. Awd., 4117 Overland	Int'l beg. inter. Easy dances 1st hr. Reviews and new dance.

UNIVERSITY OF RIVERSIDE F.D. CLUB	Friday 8-11:30 pm	(714) 369-6557 Sherri	BARN STABLE, UNIVERSITY exit off 60 East; across from Campus Security	Int'l & beg. tchq.; beg. 8-8:45; Party Last Fri. of mo. Free!
UCI DANCE CLUB	Sunday 7-10pm	(714) 854-9767 Lou & Lenore Pechl	UCI, Fine Arts Village Studio #128	Balkan and International Requests 7:30-10pm
USC ISRAELI DANCERS	Thur 7:15-10:30	(213) 478-5968 Edy Greenblatt	USC, Hillel, 3300 Hoover (across from Hebrew Union College)	7:15 Beg, 7:45 Int, 8:30 Gen. Dark Oct. 2.
ROYAL SCOTTISH COUNTRY DANCE	Mon, Thur 7:30-9:45pm	(714) 856-0891 Frank Cannonito	Irvine Huntington Beach, call for location	Beg. & Int. Shirley & Jan Inst.
ROYAL SCOTTISH C.D. SAN DIEGO BRANCH.	Mon, Tues 7-10pm Fri 7:30pm	(619) 270-1595 (619) 276-7064	San Diego, Casa del Prado Balboa Park,	Beg. & Int. Jan & Bob Inst.
BEGINNER'S CLASSES				
BEGINNING ISRAELI & INTERNATIONAL	Tue 7:45-10pm	(213) 437-4232 Thea Huijgen (213) 375-5553 Ginger McKele	Redondo Beach, Temple Memoral, 1101 Camino Real	New class starts Jan. 15; instructor Thea Huijgen
CARRILLO INT'L FOLK DANCERS	THUR 7:30-10pm	(619) 449-4631 Pat Coe.	SAN DIEGO, Balboa Park Club Balboa Park.	
CULVER CITY BEGINNERS CLASS	THUR. 7:30-9:30pm	(213) 202-5689	CULVER CITY, Tri Room of Vet. Memorial Bldg., 4117 Overland Ave.	
CRESTWOOD FOLK DANCERS	Monday 7-8:15pm	(213) 478-4659 (213) 202-6166 Beverly Barr Inst.	WEST L.A. Brookton Sch. 1309 Amacoost Ave.	New Class! Beg. start anytime OK to stay on for interim class
SAN DIEGO INT'L FOLK DANCE CLUB	Wed 7:00-8:15 pm	(619) 422-5540 Alice Stirling	SAN DIEGO, Balboa Park club, Balboa Park,	precedes regular club dance.
BEGINNING SCANDINAVIAN FOLK DANCE	Mon 7:30-10 pm Wed 7:30-10 pm	(714) 533-8667 (213) 459-5314 (805) 969-2382	ANAHEIM, Cultural Ctr. 931 Harbor, CULVER CITY, Peer Gant, 3835 Watseska, SANTA BARBARA, 100 E. CARRILLO	Tch Ted & Donna Tch: Bob & Carol New class Feb: Dan Matrisciano
SIERRA MADRE FOLK DANCE CLASS	Monday 8-9:30 pm	(818) 441-0590 Chuck Lawson,	CALL FOR LOCATION	
WESTWOOD CO-OP FOLK DANCERS	Thursday 7:30-9 pm	(213) 655-8539 (213) 202-6166	W.L.A., Emerson Jr.Hi, 1670 Selby, behind Monmon Temple.	Beginners can start anytime "Dark" 1/1/87
YUGOSLAV-AMERICAN CLUB	Monday 7:30-10 pm	(213) 832-6228 Anne Tuzkovich,	SAN PEDRO, Yugoslav-Amer. Club, 1639 S. Palos Verdes St., corner of 17th St.	Beginning folk dance instruction.
SOUTH BAY BEGINNERS DANCE CLASS	Fri. 7:15-8:30pm	(213) 375-0946 (213) 541-1073	Rancho Palos Verdes Unitarian Church 5621 Montemalaga	after classes join South Bay Bay dancers Dark 3rd Friday each month
TEMPLE ISALAH FOLK DANCERS	Tuesday 8-10:30 pm	(213) 478-4659, (213) 202-6166 Beverly Barr,	WEST L.A., Temple Isaiah, 10345 Pico	Beg. and Inter. dances taught old and new, excellent teaching
THOUSAND OAKS FOLK DANCERS	Thursday 7:30-9 pm	(213) 498-2491 Gene Lovejoy,	THOUSAND OAKS, Conejo Community Center, at Dover & Hendrix	
MARONI BEGINNERS FOLK DANCE CLASS	Thursday 7-8 pm	(213) 421-9105 (714) 892-9766	LONG BEACH, Hill Jr. Hi gym, 1100 Iroquois	Soft-soled shoes only; General dancing after class til 10:30
PASADENA CO-OP BEGINNERS CLASS	Friday 8:00-8:30 pm	(818) 794-6919	PASADENA, Throop memorial church 300 S. Los Robles	Sponsored by Pasadena Co-Op.
KAYSO FOLK DANCERS	Saturday 1-3 pm	(619) 238-1771 Sogrononians	SAN DIEGO, 4044 Idaho St., North Park Recreation Center	
LAGUNA BEGINNERS FOLK DANCE CLASS	Sunday 7-10:30 pm	(714) 553-8667, (714) 494-3302	LAGUNA BEACH, Laguna Beach Hi, Girl's Gym, Park Ave. at St. Anns.	
USC ISRAELI DANCERS	Tuesday 7:30-10:30 pm	(213) 478-5968	LOS ANGELES, USC Hillel, 3300 Hoover (across from Hebrew Union College)	Class 7:30-8:30 Beg. welcome
INT'L RENDEZVOUS FOLK DANCE CLUB	Saturday 8-11 pm	(818) 787-7641 (818) 988-3911	VALLEY, L.A. Valley College Field House, 5800 Ethel Ave.	Tchq. 8-9 pm, open to requests 9-11. Int'l w/ emphasis on Israeli.
SANTA MONICA COLLEGE FOLK DANCERS	Wednesday 7:30-9:00pm	(213) 458-8311	SANTA MONICA, City College-municipal pool Rec. Room	Beg/Inter start Jan. 21 til March 11 Instructor Tikva Mason
BETH JACOB FOLK DANCERS	Thur 9:15-10:15am	(213) 278-1911 Tikva Mason	WLA, Temple Beth Jacob 9030 w Olympic Blvd	emphasis on Israeli dances


WINTER DANCERS OF SUTRA	Sun 7:00-9:00pm	(805) 643-0897	Barranca Vista Park Ralston & Johnson	Reg/Inter Teaching 1st 45min Requests thereafter
RISK FOLK DANCERS	TUE 7:30-9:30pm	(818) 706-2852 Tom Barr	Pierce College Woodland Hills	class begins 2/24/87 for 6 wks.
EAST VALLEY FOLK DANCERS	Fri	(213) 455-1727	Woodland Hills Rec. Ctr, 5958 shoup ave	Join West Valley club at 8:30 for more Tch/dancing
VISSIO SIBO FOLK DANCERS	Sat 8:00-12:00am	(714) 635-7356	Anaheim 719 No. Anaheim Blvd	Int'l all levels welcome.

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